

A View From The Streets

The Neo-Nazi Street Scene In Toronto

Along The Trail of Hate

For the ongoing existence of far-right movements and the twisted ideologies they espouse, they need a foothold or base of support within society. Sometimes this support comes from the older war-time generation of whites who might fall prey to the likes of fringe-right groups like Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform (C-FAR, one of the many pet projects of racist school teacher, Paul Fromm), fed by half-truths on issues of immigration and crime statistics. But most often, the most vital source of life for the far-right is the recruitment of youth to swell the ranks and take up future leadership positions within the movement. The strictly-controlled energy of militant 'street agitation' is something which the far-right harnesses and guides towards conditions which they hope will usher in the fascist agenda. As well, the utilization of youth in the perpetration of violent and criminal activity keeps the older, key-players and organizers of the fascist movement out of prison while the younger members and first-time offenders get away with a slap on the wrist. The most outward expression of this, and one which we are again witnessing a resurgence of, is the relationship between the far-right and the neo-nazi skinheads.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to provide a basic overview of the current neo-nazi street-scene and its history in the Toronto area. While the emphasis is on Toronto, an organizing centre for the extreme right in Canada, reference is also made to the history and situation across Canada in relation to the worldwide scene. This contributes to a coherent understanding of who they are, what their influences are, who they work with, where they've been and where they're headed.

Skinheads Or Boneheads?

The Skinhead phenomenon was born in Britain in the late-sixties as a working class movement of dock-workers and other white youth who were culturally united with Jamaican and other West Indian Youth. These Two-tone skins listened to Ska music and, progressively, 'Oi!' music, influenced by punk rock in the 70's. But soon enough, the emergence of racist skinheads dominated the scene as right-wing organizations like the National Front sought to harness the energy and the minds of disaffected white youth. Red laces in the boots of a skinhead came to signify the NF mark of association as the white-power anthems of bands like Skrewdriver and Brutal Attack targeted immigrants and people of colour as the cause of economic strife. By the late 70's, the original skins were a rare breed, although anti-racist skinheads still exist today throughout Europe and North America in the form of scattered groupings like SHARP (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice) and RASH (Red Anarchist Skinheads).

Back in the mid-to-late-eighties the media created intense hype around the topic of skinheads. In North America, particularly in the United States, neo-nazi skinhead violence was escalating dramatically. The nineties have seen a comeback for Canada's boneheads who are in some cases, becoming more organized and self-organized under the influence of their American and European counterparts.

The Brutal Backstreets Of Toronto

At the tail end of the eighties Toronto was home to well over three-hundred skinheads, for the most part non-politicized street youth who were loosely organized into territorial gangs. The most well-known groupings included the Yonge and Isabella Skins, the WEBBs (West End Boot Boys), and the Scarborough Skins. Of these gangs, the WEBBs held claim to being the most notoriously fascist. The main tendency within factions such as the WEBBs was a strong sense of pride

for the white race, warped around a working class ideology inspired and imported from the British skinhead movement. Most were vocally opposed to non-white immigration and actively involved in 'queer-bashing'. These skins were also staunchly anti-communist. In 1987, thirty skinheads of this ilk protested for Black Ribbon Day with the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee and other anti-reds outside Massey Hall to denounce a performance by the Red Army Dancers.

The Canadian Defense Skinheads were another rabidly-racist grouping of boneheads from Toronto and the surrounding area who were one of the most active on the streets during this time. Consisting of roughly two-hundred members, mostly situated in downtown Toronto and Mississauga, the CDS was notorious for its violent assaults on street youth and people of colour. To be initiated into the group, members were required to beat up a Black man and come back to the group with proof of the deed. This proof usually came in the form of a criminal record of arrest. The CDS provided an 'inner circle' of protection for boneheads who were on the run and held superficial ties with 'Aryan Unity' and the 'Northern Defense' grouping in Edmonton. Today, the bulk membership of groups like the Canadian Defense Skins are either inactive or spending time behind bars, although some of its active players moved into currently-existing extreme-right organizations including the Heritage Front.

Most skinheads were initially attracted to the romanticized violence that seemed to be the mainstay of the movement. Gang rivalry peaked with a rival street-punk grouping known as the BFGs (Bunchofuckingfoofs) who based themselves in Kensington Market. Tensions between these factions increased following the brutal rape and murder of a punk woman by two skinheads. On the day of the trial, the accused, James Harbottle and his skinhead accomplice, appeared in the press with the trademark BFG mohawk-styled haircut, adding insult to injury. The BFGs, although a sizably-powerful street force in their time, contained some neo-nazi elements within their ranks. On the flipside, some driving anti-fascist elements within the gang went on to continue anti-nazi work.

Since a large percentage of the skinheads were living on the street, they tended to regard their groupings, which was essentially all they had, as 'family'; a family that they would be loyal to and do anything for. This made them extremely vulnerable to fascist sympathizers and organizers who came along, cared for them and offered them a sense of belonging, with of course the pretext of recruiting them into the 'scene'. Throughout the heyday of the skinhead gang activity, a small nazi-boutique existed on Queen Street known as 'Bulldog Boy'. This shopfront openly sold neo-nazi records and paraphernalia in addition to its stock of mod/skinhead fashions. This location was the major hangout for factions such as the WEBBs and the Canadian Defense Skinheads, infamously regarded as a place to stay well away from. But for up-and-coming skinheads, places like this offered shelter and fostered a sense of belonging. Bulldog Boy was soon replaced by another store of the same stripe....IXL. This store, established in the same locale, took over where Bulldog Boy left off and remains today an organizing and recruiting point for the neo-nazi street scene.

Fascist Footsoldiers

As Canada's skinheads drifted further to the right the organized fascists took note of their potential and began to organize them within existing extreme-right organizations. This was initiated in Toronto following a cross-border visit from DASH (Detroit Area Skinheads), who participated in a C-FAR meeting in the fall of 1988. At this meeting,

which was primarily comprised of the older generation of war-time racists, DASH representatives accentuated the importance of youth, and in particular skinheads, within the extreme-right framework. Across the country, groups with names such as Skinheads for National Socialism began to spring up and in many cases, these groups were tightly-knit within broader far-right organizations. Wolfgang Droege, former Klan organizer and Nationalist Party member (actively organizing today in the Heritage Front), met with and spoke for the Canadian Defense Skinheads on a number of occasions. In efforts to campaign for an all-white Canada, Don Andrews made a real effort to attract skinheads to the NP (Nationalist Party) - a 1988 Toronto Sun article entitled "Young Face of Racism" reported that NP members were regularly holding 'teach-ins' with up to 70 skinheads". Peter Mitrevski, an organizer for the Heritage Front in Toronto's East end today, was one of those skinheads.

In July 1989 a "Save Our Canada Day Festival" took place in Minden organized by John Beattie, former head of the Canadian Nazi Party. Roughly a hundred participants, including the skinheads were in attendance, a third of them from Quebec. Festivities at this event included a cross-burning.

In the same year, the United Skinheads of Montreal held a Labour Day weekend rally in Sherbrooke. In attendance were organizations from the U.S. including the KKK and Aryan Nations, a virulently anti-Semitic white-power outfit based in Idaho.

In 1990, flyers advocating the hanging of communists appeared around major cities in British Columbia, another dense area of fascist activity. This was the work of ARM, or Aryan Resistance Movement which published a monthly newsletter, the Spokesman, and linked up to the national and international movement with an extensive telephone network, the Liberty Net. Operated by Vancouver fascist Tony McAleer, this network had links with 20 WAR (White Aryan Resistance) lines in the States. McAleer held claim to six Ontario ARM chapters with several hundred members, mostly skinheads or as they were now commonly referred to as, boneheads.

It is important to note that Southern Ontario's fascist links with Detroit and the West Coast links with WAR are just two examples of the many ties that have remained solid over the years up to the present day.

To The Tune Of A Rebirth

On December 8, 1990 a Heritage Front sponsored "Martyr's Day Rally" in Toronto honouring the late Bob Mathews of 'The Order', a defunct right-wing terror-group in the U.S., attracted sixty bonehead supporters including some steroid-popping bones from across the border. Such a blatant public show of support for something of this nature was definitely a sign of things to come in the next few years in the city.

In 1992, the Heritage Front, a Toronto-based umbrella group of far-rightists, reached the peak of a big recruiting drive in the high schools and working class communities of cities including Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, London, and Kitchener-Waterloo. Part of this campaign included the usual propagandizing and leafleting, but the bulk of it was orchestrated with the launch of the nazi-music scene. Although it was played out relatively low-key at first, its effects were loud and clear.

On August 28, 1992 Toronto's RAHOWA (Racial Holy War), a white-power band fronted by Church of the Creator organizer and bonehead George Burdi, played their first gig in the city. A Buffalo act, No Alibi, was on the bill but got busted for drugs and white power (white powder?) literature at the border and didn't make it. Nonetheless, eighty COTC members were in attendance and the event was a success.

RAHOWA played again on November 13 at the Roma Restaurant, this time with Negative Response, complete with a COTC Security Legion of 'White Berets' performing the evening's security. The event was scheduled to feature David Irving as a speaker before a wide-ranging group in attendance, from white middle class families to boneheads. Irving was deported earlier that day, but the event went on

to commemorate former Western Guard Party (WGP) members John Ross Taylor and Jacob Prins for years of 'white racial service'. Negative Response, a closet nazi-band that even had Bernie Farber of the CJC convinced that they were not racists, hit the stage followed by RAHOWA. The evening was cut short by the efforts of a sizable ARA demonstration outside of the venue.

The month of November marked a notable increase in fascist activity which included the desecration of Toronto's Native Centre with spraypainted swastikas and the desecration of a Jewish synagogue. In Kitchener, where Heritage Front boneheads were having regular meetings, planning gigs, and held a speaking event with David Irving, an anti-fascist activist's house was firebombed and a Jewish shop owner was attacked in his store. At the tail end of November, six Montreal boneheads, members of White Power Canada, were arrested for the beating death of a gay man. A Black woman who worked at the Youthlink Centre in Toronto was harassed and assaulted at her home. On March 23, 1993, during a climate of harassment and death threats, the young women's hostel was firebombed by the cohorts of a woman who was ousted for bringing neo-nazi material into the shelter.

On May 29, 1993, RAHOWA was playing out again, this time in Ottawa at the Boys and Girls Club, where running battles between neo-nazis and antifascists took place after the event was shut down. George Burdi himself ended up getting arrested for assault. On the night of June 6, 1993 RAHOWA played in Downsview, Toronto to a pumped-up audience of neo-nazi boneheads, three of which went on a rampage following the event. One Jason Hoolans, twenty years of age and covered in racist tattoos, attacked and beat a Tamil dishwasher into a coma that night, leaving the man paralysed for life. Hoolans stated to the police that night in a videotaped conversation that he "...didn't like to see all the immigrants coming in taking our jobs...I mean my race, the white race, is dying out. I'd like to see this country...a white nation." And the bands played on.

Taking Back The Streets In Toronto

June was to be a bad month for the fascists in Toronto. Internal conflicts seemed to be of the order when on June 9, three Church Of The Creator members kidnapped their own Tyrone Mason on the suspicion that he had been 'making his own ends' with the Heritage Front mailing list and other vital information. Charges of forcible confinement and assault led police back to the home of George Burdi himself, home also to five other COTC members and a small cache of automatic weapons. Two men charged in the kidnapping were the Fischers, Elkar and his brother Eric who served as a former sergeant in the Canadian Airborne Regiment and currently served as head of security and intelligence for the COTC in Toronto. Following the kidnapping incident, Mason remained active within the scene while both the HF and the COTC went on business as usual and continued to flourish. It was for the COTC that membership numbers tripled in size during 1993. Reports from B.C. suggested that at least 200 boneheads from that area had moved into the ranks of the paramilitary COTC, an organization that has groupings in the U.S., England, Sweden, Australia, and South Africa, which had a strong base in Toronto where it was holding regular weekend meetings. The Heritage Front was gearing up locally for the setting-up of a public office and shopfront, and plans were on the go for sending RAHOWA on a nationwide tour. The future looked white and bright indeed, but the winds were soon to change direction.

The incidents that followed were a direct response to the increasing campaign of fascism being waged against the community in Toronto. On June 11, an Anti-Racist Action (ARA) demonstration stormed the house of Front organizer Gary Shipper, home of the Heritage Front Hotline. Roughly sixty boneheads had gathered near nazi-propagandist Ernst Zundel's house on Zundel's request, assuming incorrectly that the targeted location would in fact be his. Late that night, boneheads and HF leadership attempted to retaliate in an attack on an anti-fascist hangout on College Street. Although they outnumbered

bered the anti-racists, the boneheads gained themselves a good thrashing and Wolfgang Droege, leader of the HF and former Grand Dragon of the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan got himself arrested. All in all, the day was ARA's. The HF plans for the shopfront went up in flames, the RAHOWA tour was cancelled, and all funds went towards bailing out Droege and fronting for further legal costs. Moreover, it was made clear that the streets were not going to be given up that easily by anti-fascists.

RAHOWA, Resistance Records And The Racialist Rockline

The gig was not up for George Burdi, who had big plans for his band. Burdi's gameplan was to set up a record label to legitimize white power music in order to lure a wider audience of white youth into buying into the movement. This came in the form of 'Resistance Records', an outfit which he based in Detroit with a fellow member of RAHOWA and the invested seed money of \$50,000 (fronted by Ernst Zundel?). This arrangement allowed them to avoid Canada's stricter hate laws and take full advantage of U.S. liberal free speech rights. The label produced cassette and CD releases of RAHOWA along with Nordic Thunder, Aggravated Assault, The Voice, and Aryan (a London, Ontario-based band which included two ex-members of Toronto's Vacant Lot). Song titles like 'Coon Hunt', 'United, White and Proud', and 'Race War', sum up the lyrical content of these bands. Recently, Burdi put up \$5,000 to cover production costs for three of these bands. Resistance Records also issues a glossy magazine of the same name which contains interviews with the bands, news articles, and contacts with the broader fascist music/political scenes in the U.S. and Europe. This model, set up around and fuelled by the music scene is based on the Blood and Honour movement in Britain, founded by the late Ian Stuart (of whom a tribute is dedicated in the first issue of Resistance Records magazine). This concept allows for the spread of propaganda, cultivates for the recruitment of white youth to the ideas and concepts of fascism, and funnels extremely large amounts of money directly into the fascist movement. RAHOWA has also signed a contract with 'Rebel Europeans', a record label in France which deals in strictly fascist material.

In the best interest of the fascists, 'racial rock' was becoming of interest to the media, creating big headlines. When RAHOWA played a secret Toronto location with the London-based band Aryan, they gained themselves some airtime on Much Music. Anti-Racist-Action demonstrated successfully in shutting down a 'panel discussion' with these boneheads at the Much Music building. The anti-racist music scene within the punk community did a lot to counter the nazi-music upsurge with Rock Against Racisms and the outspoken work of bands such as Toronto's Politikill Incorrect, a BFG make-up which even appeared on Much Music television to concretely combat the fascist music-scene. The grassroots work of individuals within the punk milieu waged a campaign that successfully exposed Negative Response's attempts to hide its fascist agenda and make its ends within the punk scene. It was elements like these that had been instrumental in the initial formation of ARA as an active street-level force.

The fascists decided to make the best of their time in the spotlight and took the music scene all the way. They set up the 'Racialist Rockline' and advertised their first 'Rock Against Communism' concert for February 26, 1994, which took place in Toronto's East End. The bill consisted of White Riot (aka Negative Response), Excessive Force, Aryan, and Max Resist and the Hooligans from the U.S. Operated by George Harbottle, the Racialist Rockline was based in Toronto and held together a loose network of boneheads and nazi-bands across Southern Ontario and the United States. During its time it gained notoriety for being the most obnoxious and upfront with its propaganda. Following the cancellation of a second 'Racial Rockshow' on April 23rd by a police move to prevent a clash between showgoers and anti-racists, the angry message on the Rockline the following day urged its loyal listeners to "...take up arms against the cops!"

Yonge Street And Beyond

Currently, the neo-nazi music scene has found itself, for the most part, underground. The seeds have been sown by its short-lived proliferation and a following of boneheads are becoming increasingly visible and active across Canada, mostly organizing themselves within small towns and communities.

Toronto fascists have been denied a high-profile street presence thanks to the work of anti-fascist forces in the area, but their low-level recruiting continues nonetheless. A Toronto Sun article dated August 3, 1994 entitled 'Racists recruit at MTHA' documents the hotbed of fascist activity and propaganda aimed towards residents of the Toronto Metro Housing Authority. A November 1993 report reads, "MTHA communities are especially attractive to hate groups as a recruitment source because of the high representation of youth and people in the lower-income level", citing eight different projects where racist flyers were distributed, five more projects with racist vandalism and graffiti, hate-promoting voice mail at one address, and three different projects which housed residents belonging to organized groups, not exclusive to the Ku Klux Klan, WAR, and the HF.

Although they organize mainly in the East End, where they have entrenched themselves, a street presence is beginning to test the waters of anti-fascist tolerance in its attempts to reclaim a foothold in areas like Yonge Street in the downtown core. One particular area of increased activity is Cabbagetown, the district where Ernst Zundel is based. Boneheads and organizers alike frequent local establishments which are sympathetic to Zundel. But, being careful at all times to downplay his association with the boneheads, Zundel has seen to it that the area is squeaky-clean and free of neo-nazi graffiti. In actuality, Zundel maintains a strong relationship with the boneheads, who are always on hand for security duty at his house or local establishment when he needs them. Although the area seems placid on the surface, it is an area utilized by the fascists for social gatherings as well as stomping grounds for neo-nazi organizers from Germany who visit Zundel on a regular basis.

The bonehead presence downtown has existed consistently since the IXL boot store has been in existence throughout its location changes. For many years, Toronto's street-wise youth have known about neo-nazi goings-on at these locations, but until now this information only circulated in the form of rumour. Quite often rumours were enough for IXL proprietors who finally had to install plexiglass windows and steel-wrought gates to protect themselves.

Make A Real Fashion Statement - Don't Support IXL!

IXL is a skinhead/mod fashion store that had an outlet in Montreal and two currently active outlets in Toronto; one at 535 Yonge Street, and the other location called 'Reckless' at 202 Queen Street West. Both locations are operated by Alaric Jackson, who helped produce 'Canada Awake!', a fascist bonehead fanzine featuring articles titled: "Death to Racemixers". He played in Cross, skinhead/Oi band which played at the 1989 Aryan Fest in Minden, Ontario. Alaric Jackson's behind-the-counter work includes directing potential recruits towards fascist organizations.

Swastika-tattooed IXL employees switch off working at either location and sell bonehead records behind the counter to anyone who looks the part and knows what to ask for. These records are sold via the West German 'Rock-O-Rama' label whose funds go into the promotion of Blood and Honour and Rock Against Communism activities across Europe. This is where their political sympathy lies, even though they carry other less-dodgy titles in the vein of ska and punk music. Blood and Honour bands from Britain included the likes of Skrewdriver, Klansmen, Combat 84, Skullhead, No Remorse, and Squadron. Such a connection might explain the abundance of Skrewdriver and No Remorse patches in the Toronto and surrounding area. Prior to the existence of these locations, Alaric Jackson operated an IXL on Queen Street in the same vicinity as the current 'Reckless' location. This outlet sold nazi-patches quite openly. Before IXL's time,

a store called Bulldog Boy carried an array of white power records and paraphernalia in addition to the stock of boots and bomber jackets. Jackson's father, who financed the IXL chain, had close ties with the Blood and Honour movement in Britain and rumour has it that money running in those circles went to funding activities here in Canada.

Throughout the late-eighties, IXL consistently provided the neo-nazi street scene with an organizational centre for their activities. The Canadian Defense Skinheads held social gatherings and meetings at the Yonge Street location. They recruited from this location and made use of it as a hangout for themselves and other losers in the scene. Behind the counter, one might have come upon group photos of the skinheads, along with their organization's flags.

This level of activity continues today. On April 23, 1994, Northern Hammerskins and other neo-nazi boneheads utilized the IXL location on Yonge Street as a redirection point for boneheads gathering for the celebration of Hitler's Birthday at the Latvian House on College Street.

Hammer The Hammerskins!

On July 2, 1994, one-hundred boneheads from Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Quebec and Ontario gathered on a farm in Caledon outside of Toronto for what was billed on the Racist Rockline as Aryan Fest '94. Ten white-power bands were promised, yet only four turned up to play; one band from Toronto and three from the U.S. Boneheads danced around a bonfire and raced around the barnyard with SS battleflags, creating a scene worthy of a few laughs. To top it all off, a brawl broke out among the participants and three boneheads ended up getting free tickets to the local hospital. True comradeship. Security was provided by Toronto's Northern Hammerskins who are under the organizational coordination of Eric and Elkar Fischer.

The Northern Hammerskins are not all that new to the scene, but they are certainly increasingly growing in numbers and popularity. They initially became a semi-organized entity in Toronto and Southern Ontario with the cross-border influence of Detroit's Hammerskins. The relationship the NHS have with the Heritage Front is almost one of friendly competition. They see the HF as having failed against anti-racist forces in the city and they figure they can do better.

In the U.S., there are countless groups of Confederate, Northern, and Eastern Hammerskins to name a few. The Confederate Hammerskins from the United States were all over the media in the mid-to-late-eighties with incidents of racist attacks and murders and desecrations of synagogues. The Hammerskins were second in size only to the California-based WAR, and even now that is subject for debate. In Canada, there are currently at least six well-known active Northern Hammerskin chapters, including one branch in Quebec whose post office box is also home to the nazi-band, Involved Patriots. The Toronto chapter address features the band White Riot, and a newer branch in B.C. houses the up-and-coming Odin's Law. As well, Toronto has its own chapter of the Women of the Northern Hammerskins, who operate a hotline under the same name. Hammerskin chapters abroad include outfits in Switzerland, Germany, Britain, France, as well as Australia.

At this stage of the game, the NHS in Canada are busy networking amongst themselves and other organisations abroad through the traditional channels of publications and music fanzines, trading music and news. And although it's nothing new, the boneheads are currently networking through a series of computer bulletin boards and computer networks, and in particular the Internet. The most notorious player in this realm is a Hammerskin from Gatineau, Ottawa named Jason Smith who until recently posted neo-nazi material to various newsgroups on the Net. His NHS chapter features a hardcopy publication called Sledgehammer which provides a voice for the NHS and the circle of nazi-bands and fans it caters to. Smith also maintains a healthy relationship with Resistance Records organizers.

This stage of networking is well on its way towards the next level which is that of carrying out coordinated attacks. Canada's organized boneheads have consistently held solid ties with American organiza-

tions, which in turn have some direct ties to the highly-organized European outfits. To provide a current example of this structure, one might take note of a newly-formed organization in Victoria, British Columbia known as the Canadian Front. This grouping has formed in an area known to be an organizing/recruiting centre for the HF and COTC. The Canadian Front are closely aligned with the American Front in the U.S. and their name and contact address has appeared in AF publications. American Front skinheads also distribute what are known as 'Red-Watch' lists, which are essentially hit-lists containing the addresses of their enemies. Although not always very accurate in their knowledge of the Left, these lists are circulated to encourage violence upon those listed. This practice is yet another import from European terror-outfits like Combat 18 (Britain) and Anti-Antifa (Germany), who base themselves around the 'leaderless resistance' concept; that of forming small units or 'cells' to commit violent attacks and murders against its enemies. Another American outfit that advocates these tactics is Gary Lauck's National Socialist German Worker's Party - Foreign Organization (NSDAP/AO). Lauck's publications have made their impact with fascist skinheads in Montreal and the Canadian Front have plastered NSDAP/AO stickers around the streets of Victoria.

Attack The Nazis Wherever They Are!

The newer strain of activism within the ranks of younger members of fascist organizations represents the breeding material for future leadership. The pattern of attracting and recruiting continues into each newer generation to keep the banner of fascism held high. Anti-racists need to keep the rising tide of fascism in check constantly, never allowing them any space whatsoever. Also important is the task to deconstruct their ideology, counter each and every point they make, and work to create alternatives in the social arena for the youth who fall prey to the fascist machinery. Fight the racists on all levels!

About This Article

The preceding article was written by an independent anti-fascist activist in Toronto in the Summer of 1994. The purpose of this article is to give a brief overview and introduction of the neo-nazi street scene to people who are new to anti-fascist politics. Of course, "A View From The Streets" only scratches the surface of the far-right movement that exists in Toronto and in the rest of Canada. We encourage people to contact the following anti-fascist/anti-racist groups and organizations for more information:

Anti-Racist Action, P.O. Box 664, Stn. C, Toronto, Ont., M6J 3S1
Anti-Fascist info, Box 35, 1744 Kingsway, Vancouver, B.C., V5N 2S3

Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League, P.O. Box 291, Stn. B, Toronto, Ont., M5T 2W2

Kitchener-Waterloo Anti-Racist Group, 170 University Ave. W., Suite 12, Box 133, N2L 3E9

Cabbagetown Campaign Against Nazis In Our Neighbourhood, P.O. Box 6871, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont., M5W 1X6

Toronto Coalition Against Racism, Box 133, 339a College St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1S2

Prison News Service, P.O. Box 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont., M5W 1W4

Anti-Nazi League, P.O. Box 5573, Stn. B, Victoria, B.C., V6R 6S4
Salmon Arm Coalition Against Racism, 3521 20 Ave. NE, Salmon Arm, B.C., V1E 4M4

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How To Identify A Bonehead...

For the casual observer, it can be quite confusing trying to keep track of what differs between racist boneheads and anti-racist skinheads or antifascists, etc., no thanks to the media. Being a bald white person with boots and a bomber jacket isn't exactly condemning proof to nail down the positive I.D. on a neo-nazi skinhead. To make matters worse, some of them choose to grow their hair in for disguise, some of them are metal-heads anyway, and some are simply white boys who dress smart.

Most outwardly white power boneheads choose to wear red or white laces in their boots, denoting white power. Red suspenders are also a hint. Yet this alone is not enough to peg them, as most kids wear whatever laces they have on hand and sometimes they end up being white laces. So don't write the person in question off yet! Most

skinheads are proud of their country and wear the national flag, but again this does not pin the person down because SHARP skins also prance around with the flag on their arm and people of colour in the alternative milieu have also been spotted with the Canadian flag on their bombers, we can only ask why!

The most effective method of spotting an organized fascist skin is by the patches he/she sports on their bomber jacket. Patches of bands such as Skrewdriver and No Remorse are common in the area and provide a drop-dead giveaway. Confederate flags or other nazi regalia should give you a hint and in some cases, the confederate flag represents a hammerskin. Two hammers crossed definitely denotes hammerskin. Below are copies of a few other organized white power symbols that might be spotted in the area, along with what they represent.

This is the logo of the Heritage Front. Vaguely reminiscent of the swastika, this white, red and black symbol appears on t-shirts, patches, and baseball hats of members and supporters of the HF.



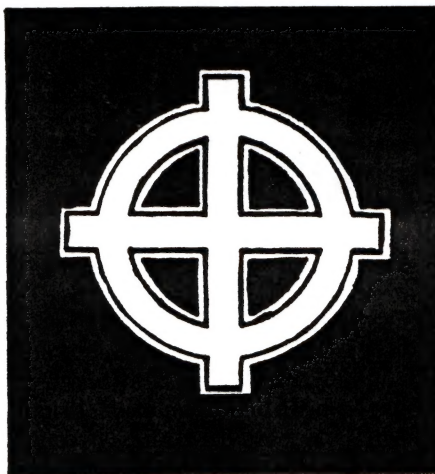
This is the Church of the Creator logo, also white, red and black and most often present without the wording around the outside. It symbolizes 'Racial Loyalty'.



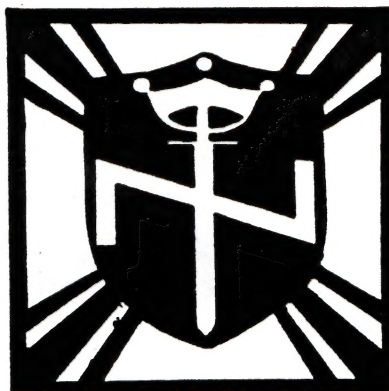
WAR or White Aryan Resistance, a white supremacist organisation based in the U.S. but with existing chapters in Canada, including a base of support in Toronto.



This Celtic symbol was utilized by the National Front in England but is one of the most common symbols in North America in relation to boneheads. It represents the division of nations by race, symbolizing white power.



This is the logo for the Aryan Nations also known as the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. Their symbol represents various facets of Christian Identity ideology.



The various Hammerskin chapters throughout the world use various designs with the crossed hammers being the common symbol used by all. Many Hammerskins use crossed hammers in conjunction with symbols of the countries that they live in (see below for U.S. and Canadian examples). Other designs include the one for "Erik Banks" which consists of the customary crossed hammers and the following: "You may be gone, but your spirit lives on" and "Erik Banks, 1971-1993". Banks was an ex-member of Bound For Glory who was shot to death by a SHARP in Portland, Oregon.



ARE YOU SUPPORTING A NAZI FRONT?

DON'T SHOP AT IXL!



IXL, 535 Yonge St. (S. of Wellesley)

IXL is a shoe/clothing store specializing in fashions favoured by neo-nazi boneheads.

IXL's Yonge Street location is run by Alaric Jackson, who helped produce *Canada Awake!*, a fascist bonehead fanzine featuring articles like "**Death** to Race Mixers". He played in *Cross*, a skinhead/Oi band which played at the 1989 Aryan Fest in Minden, Ont.

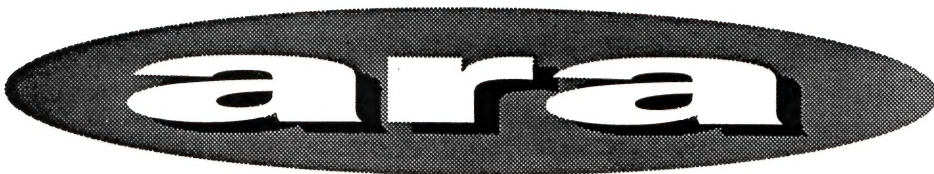
Alaric Jackson manages both the Queen West and Yonge Street stores, and has been directing potential recruits towards fascist organizations. IXL's Yonge Street location sells racist and bonehead rock records.

In April 1994, Northern Hammerskins and other **neo-Nazi boneheads** gathered at IXL Yonge St. in preparation for the celebration of Hitler's birthday at the Latvian House on College Street.

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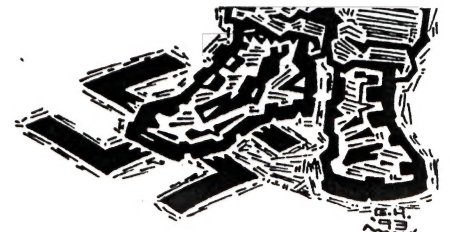


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The following short essays are excerpted (and translated) from *Les skinheads et l'extrême droite*, a book published in 1991 by the Ligue de droits et libertés in Montreal.

The United Skinheads of Montreal

The United Skinheads of Montreal (USOM) was modelled on some sections of the American Aryan Youth Movement. This type of structure had the advantage of bringing together far-right skinheads despite their different affiliations to various political groups, such as the Aryan Nations, the Nationalist Party of Canada, the Ku Klux Klan, etc.

The USOM defined themselves as neo-nazis and white supremacists. Their objectives were "to oppose everything and everyone who threatens the advancement or the survival of the white race" and to build "a defensive organization, using violence only to protect its members." But immediately after, they add that they would also use violence "at their discretion", particularly "in the case of a violent confrontation," when "all members without exception must take part in the battle until its resolution". The members had to pledge allegiance to the Canadian flag and promise to protect the secrets of the USOM.

This organization recruited especially among young middle-class skinheads, anglophone and francophone. Older skinheads from less privileged backgrounds kept their distance. According to our evaluation, the USOM had between 30 and 50 members and around 50 skinhead sympathizers.

USOM members hung out at IXL, a store specializing in skinhead fashions, at 4367 Saint-Denis in Montréal. Running the store was Alaric Jackson, a skinhead himself and an influential member of USOM. In Toronto one can find two IXL stores selling skinhead fashions: one on Queen and the other on Yonge. The shops in Toronto have the same owners as in Montréal.

The USOM were in contact with various American neo-nazi skinhead groups like the Northern Hammerskins of Detroit, the Chicago Area Skinheads, etc., as well as other American political groups including the White Aryan Resistance, Aryan Nations, Ku Klux Klan, Institute for Historical Review (a revisionist organization denying the Holocaust) and the National Socialist White America Party, a California group with many skinhead links.

In September 1989, after a neo-nazi skinhead gathering planned in Estrie (Que) was averted by the intervention of the League of Rights and Freedoms and the mobilization of others, the USOM became disorganized, without perspective and without leadership.

Furthermore, their band Cross dissolved itself, when they had hoped to record an album. In fact, their leader Alaric Jackson had returned to London that spring to meet Ian Stuart, lead singer for Skrewdriver. He hoped to gain his support with Rock'O'Rama, the German company which records many nazi bands.

Despite the organizational setback marked by the breakup of the USOM, in September 1989 one could see the nazi skinhead style clearly progressing in Montréal and several other regions of Québec.

This fad would renew itself in the following months by the creation of new organizations and numerous public mobilizations. So began a new phase in the development of the neo-nazi movement.

The Cross-Canadian Network

Two neo-nazi skinhead gatherings have demonstrated a desire for greater unity among English and French Canadian skinheads. The Save Our Canada Festival 1989 held on July 1-2 in Minden, Ontario (near Peterborough), was the first. It took place on the property of the former leader of the Canadian Nazi Party, John Beattie, now an official of the Nationalist Party of Canada.

That weekend at the "White Man's Mansion" was dedicated to political activities and musical shows. The registration flyer indicated that admittance was restricted to white people. Because drugs and firearms were prohibited, participants could expect to be searched.

The festival featured the bands Cross and Cyclone. 100 skinheads showed up (organizers were expecting 500). Half of the skinheads came from Quebec, a majority of them francophone and among them about a dozen women. The other skinheads came from Toronto, Ottawa and the United States.

The Montréal band Cross, led by Alaric Jackson from the Montréal IXL store, performed songs by the British groups No Remorse (*Smash The Reds*), and Screwdriver (*White Power*).

The political section included John Ross Taylor from the Aryan Nations and Peter Mitrevski from the Nationalist Party of Canada (*Ottawa Citizen* July 3 '89), as well as several American and Canadian representatives of the Ku Klux Klan. In the purest Klan tradition, a cross was burned the night of July 1.

This neo-nazi festival sparked protests among the people of Minden, who organized a demonstration on July 1st. The next day B'nai Brith demonstrated to denounce the danger of the rebirth of Naziism.

A second Aryan "Woodstock" was held on the following year on July 1-2, in Metcalfe, Ontario (south of Ottawa). This Second Annual Canada Day Celebration brought together nearly 200 skinheads and representatives of Canadian, American and British neo-nazi groups on the farm of Ian MacDonald, a former federal high official linked to the far-right movement. The media reported the presence of the British group No Remorse and the performance of a show celebrating white supremacy. It was also reported that some participants were carrying firearms which police did not confiscate on the grounds that they held weapons permits. Camouflage clothing, face masks, army boots, and in some cases guns: the gear worn by participants illustrated the paramilitary atmosphere of the event, which was denounced by a coalition of social and community organizations.

The organizers of this gathering included Don Andrews of the Nationalist party of Canada and John L. of Aryan Resistance Movement, a skinhead group from Montréal.

The active role of oldtimers from the Canadian far right, notably Andrews and Beattie, in organizing these two skinhead gatherings, and the significant presence of Québec skinheads clearly demonstrates the efforts undertaken towards the creation of a cross-Canadian network.

The newsletter *Canada Awake* served as a link among groups and individuals in this network in 1989. In it one could find, not only articles about skinhead music and culture, but also pieces dedicated to Canadian neo-nazi groups and the KKK. This newsletter was distributed in Canada and internationally.

In the first issue an article introduced the Nationalist Party of Canada (NPC) and its leader Don Andrews. One of the major points of the NPC program was building a common ideology and racial history of white people. The program also focused on ways to survive--financially, socially, and physically--in the so-called anti-racist environment imposed by the system. In this context, according to Andrews, skinheads should be trained to bear arms and to prepare themselves for the inevitable race war. Andrews also believed that skinheads should try to stay out of prison because as inmates they are of no use to the movement.

The second issue of *Canada Awake* featured Terry Long, representative of the Aryan Nations in Canada. Long suggests that readers of *Canada Awake* create their own survival and training groups, and to show initiative in this area, because training camps are prohibited in Canada, unless they are set up by small bands of patriots who know each other well.

It's a long way from 'Let It Be'

Toronto Star 93-08-14
 Toronto boasts North America's first record label trading exclusively in hate rock



JIM RANKIN / TORONTO STAR

RACISM ROCK: The members of Toronto white supremacist band RaHoWa.

*These boots are made for stompin',
 And that's just what they'll do.
 One of these days these boots are gonna stomp all over Jews.*
 — Toronto race rock band RaHoWa, perverting Nancy Sinatra's
 1960s song called "These Boots are Made for Walkin'."

By Gail Swainson
 TORONTO STAR

THIS ISN'T nicey-nicey pop music with a danceable beat. It's way beyond the pain threshold and obnoxious in the extreme, with lyrics tailored to offend any decent right-thinking person.

It's the kind of music and message that anyone would love to hate.

A group of Toronto-based white power musicians has started Resistance Records for the express purpose of hawking some of the most virulently racist hate propaganda ever recorded. Their aim is to attract a new generation of recruits to their brand of neo-Nazi racism.

Enlisting popular music to influence teens is hardly a novel idea. But using music as a deliberate tool to market hate propaganda introduces a chilling twist to the much-debated issue of censorship in music.

Rock, rap, jazz, the blues and other forms of popular expression have a long and honorable tradition of breaking taboos. Is race rock just another way for youth to push the envelope? Or have things finally gone just too far?

Dan Hart, program director at CIUT, the University of Toronto's student-run radio station, says that comparing race rock to other forms of youthful musical non-conformity gives it a veneer of respectability it simply doesn't deserve.

"I wouldn't sanction it with that umbrella," Hart says. "It's propaganda; it's a pamphlet; it is clearly about hate and the misrepresentation of history."

Karen Gordon, a CBC music and arts critic, says the idea that rock music provides a handy and legitimate vehicle for sedition

Please see IS/page B5

-RACISM-

Is hate rock breaking the last taboo?

Toronto Star
93-08-14

Continued from page B1
may itself be outdated.

"Pop music, which was once a music of rebellion, has been co-opted by the marketing people, so I'm not certain that this notion of it being a taboo thing exists any more," Gordon says.

Hate rock isn't art, she says. "It's another marketing device. If you want to sell your beer to 18-to-24-year-old men, you sponsor a rock tour, and this is just another vehicle for selling hate propaganda. This shouldn't be confused with artists doing legitimate protest music, such as rallying cries for the oppressed. This is propaganda, not artistry."

Resistance Records is the brainchild of 23-year-old skinhead George Burdi. Known as Reverend Eric Hawthorne to his followers, Burdi is also head of the Toronto branch of the militant white power group Church of the Creator and lead singer of the "racialist rock" band RaHoWa (an acronym for Racial Holy War).

"Music is the ultimate form of bringing a message to the masses," Burdi says. "Youth seek role models through musicians. They say, 'Wow, I love this band and if this is the opinion of the band, then it is my opinion too.'" The label, North America's first to trade exclusively in hate rock, was started last spring with \$50,000 in seed money and a Detroit box office number. From there, tapes from the label's eight bands are shipped to Canadian destinations.

Bands with names such as Nordic Thunder, Aggravated Assault, Aryan and the Voice have all been signed to Burdi's label. "The market's phenomenal," he says. "We have a monopoly on it and it's virtually untapped."

Burdi says the label's Detroit address allows Resistance Records to dodge Canada's strict laws and take advantage of America's more liberal rights to free speech.

Tapes are also easily shipped over the border and are rarely checked by customs agents, he says. That allows the free flow of material to Canada that, if produced here, would likely be banned under Canadian laws.

In recent years, obscenity laws were used in both the U.S. and Canada to crack down on recordings considered objectionable. Three years ago, an album by Miami rappers 2 Live Crew called *As Nasty as They Wanna Be* was found to be obscene by a U.S. federal court judge.

Though it would be a stretch to label race rock as obscene, minority rights advocates say that Canada's hate laws should be used to crack down on white supremacist bands.

Bernie Farber of the Canadian Jewish Congress says he resents suggestions that banning albums by hate groups is an attack on free speech. "Canada is not the United States. We happen to have laws dealing with forms of speech and it is a law that has finely balanced our sacred right to free speech with the rights of minorities not to be harmed or vilified."

Gordon agrees. "These groups are selling hatred so it should fall under the laws dealing with hate propaganda; it's not music."

American jazz writer Nat Hentoff says he can see only danger in curbing free speech rights. "There is no legitimate rationale for censorship. Once you start saying what speech is okay and what is not you're setting up a chilling effect."

Hentoff says hatemongers must be countered in open forums rather than driven underground. "I would rather have the kind of society where as awful, as wrong, as hateful as that kind of speech is, you rebut it. The Canadian Jewish Congress have access to forums, why come down and prosecute speech when you can rebut it."

Songs with titles such as "Coon Hunt," "Race Riot" and "White Revolution" will certainly never zoom to the top of the mainstream charts. Nevertheless, Farber says, racial rock poses a very real threat.

"It's literally the new wave in hate promotion," he says. "They know that the best way to attract young people today is through music, hard-driving, hard-hitting music. And it's not as if it is being done underground. It is being done in full view of the authorities. It is almost taunting society in many respects."

Farber says police appear reluctant to press charges against racial rock bands — even though a man arrested in the vicious beating of a Tamil dishwasher was seen hours before at a RaHoWa concert in Downsview last month.

"Parents have to be concerned that kids just wanting to attend a rock concert can be easily manipulated by these various groups into a hateful mindset ripe for indoctrination," Farber says. "This is not about equal rights for whites; it is about straight discrimination."

Bill Bobek, publicity manager at Much Music in Toronto, says he believes that artists must be allowed to express their points of view. "For me, it is a free speech issue," he says. "Anyway, who is going to judge what is appropriate? Someone who doesn't know what a 17-year-old is going through because they have forgotten?"

Much Music does have a committee that vets videos and Bobek admits that controversial videos are rarely aired. But he doesn't see this as a form of censorship. Much is merely exercising its right to choose what it will show in the same way that newspapers and magazines select what material will run in their publications.

A show called *Too Much for Much* airs videos considered too hot for regular programming on the music station. But generally, Much refuses to play any videos that don't meet community standards, Bobek says.

"Racist" rock lyrics are replete with what Burdi admits are offensive words and images, guaranteed to attract the young and offend the old: "Some of the music being put out is raw hatred. It is just so offensive, it is just so crude that it can't help but attract attention just by the sheer audacity of having the guts to be so politically incorrect."

Burdi said that no matter what the Canadian authorities decide to do with their music — ban it or ignore it — it will sell. "I invite the system to try to stop it. I invite them to, if they did ban an album, everyone would want to have it, and it would spread like wildfire in the underground."

"Music is fed on controversy. Ignore us and we get huge because we can develop unhindered. Attack us and we get huge because you create controversy and the youth want to hear us. Either way, we win."

He points to sales of an album by U.S. rapper Ice-T that included a song called "Cop Killer." The album shot to the top of the charts when community groups demanded it be banned.

Bobek agrees that young people will seek out music that has been driven underground. But he sees only a very small market for racist music. "I don't think you can legislate this away. The best thing the authorities can do is show young people how wrong this is." Racial rock is big in Europe. Two labels, Rock-O-Rama and Rebelles Europeens, have bands that regularly crack the Top 10 in Germany. RaHoWa, which was signed to Rebelles Europeens, jumped labels in the spring. But Burdi said his band along with several others on Resistance Records will be distributed by the French company in Europe.

Other European skin-head groups such as No Remorse (which played in Ottawa several years ago), Skrewdriver, Brutal Attack and Skullhead, draw crowds in the thousands at their concerts in Britain, Burdi says.

Bound for Glory, a racial rock band from Minnesota, sold more than 20,000 copies of its last album through the mails. "That's pretty big for a band with a European label, for a record that can't be put on record store shelves," he says.

"You have to also remember that there's probably 10 copies dubbed for every copy sold, especially because of its lack of availability. So 20,000 copies is just the tip of an iceberg. It could be more like 200,000."



RAFFI ANDERIAN

Fascist Youth and the Daydream Nation

Varsity 94.02.08

by David Chokroun

Varsity Staff

"Kids love music," says Gary Schipper, spokesperson for local white supremacist group, the Heritage Front. "Kids love to have a good time. The music's very important."

Schipper and I are talking about rock bands like Aryan, Nordic Thunder, and Toronto group, RaHoWa — a contraction of Racial Holy War. Promoted by groups like the Heritage Front and the U.S.-based Church of the Creator (COTC), and sometimes with band members also belonging to the groups, the bands attract youth to their shows and often to their ideology.

"Racist rock has become an effective recruiting tool where it never worked before," says Bernie Farber, national director for community relations for the Canadian Jewish Congress.

"Recruitment is very important to these groups because they know that without young people their movement will die."

According to Farber and other local anti-racist activists, the bands' efforts have been disturbingly successful.

"Ten or fifteen years ago, the people in the neo-Nazi movement were all about 70 years old," says Farber, "now they're mostly young people, mostly kids."

For youth, being a member in one of these bands, or going to their shows, gives them a collective sense of identity, says Steve Perry, station manager of York University radio station CHRY. At various times, Perry has been a member of several Toronto hardcore bands and participated in anti-racism rock festivals.

"The scene is a kind of support network for these kids, a kind of extended family," he says. "It becomes a safety net for their values."

I point out to Schipper that the person charged in the brutal beating of a Tamil man last June was seen at a RaHoWa gig in North York several hours before.

But Schipper says the show did not play a part in the man's later beating.

"There's no connection," he says. "If you follow the trial, you'll see that the beating was not racially motivated... The kid's responsible for his own actions; whether you listen to RaHoWa or to some black guy saying 'kill whitey,' you're responsible for your own actions."

Farber, however, says the lyrics of these bands' songs are clearly in violation of Canada's hate laws.

"This [the lyrics] is exactly what our hate laws are designed for," says Farber, "these songs incite hatred and they exhort people to violence."

Negative Response Meets Self

RaHoWa have never downplayed their connection to COTC — their lead singer, George Burdi is also the Toronto head of COTC. Their songs — with titles like "Coon Hunt" and "White Revolution" — are explicitly racist. But other bands have shunned overtly racist messages in order to increase their appeal in local rock or punk scenes.

Negative Response, a punk-metal band, was

founded by Andre Gallant, an Etobicoke skinhead, in 1992. Gallant had ambitions of becoming a cop — he graduated from Humber College's law enforcement program in 1993.

Although Negative Response have denied all accusations of racism, in early 1992, Gallant wrote a letter to *Crossbreed*, an anti-racist 'zine, defending the band's politics:

"They figure because [we're] skinheads that we are singing racist songs. Well, that's not the case... We wrote a song against peace punks. We wrote a song on getting tougher immigration laws. We even wrote a song on the infamous Jew himself, Gerdalio [Rivera]."

"I confronted Andre with that letter," says punk musician Joe (a pseudonym), a member of Anti-Racist Action (ARA). "Of course, he denied writing it. It was funny — he was doing his law enforcement course at the time, and he said he was going to sue."

Gallant's letter proceeded to extol the genius of British Holocaust-denier David Irving, "...the world's most... [renowned] historian... Did you know that it's written in the official archives of the world in England, it states that 90 per cent of [concentration camp] deaths occurred from natural death and disease."

"Those guys are just fucking trash," says Simon Dyogenic, a contributor to *The New Edition* and editor of punk fanzine *Dysgenic*.

Unlike their overtly racist counterparts, Negative Response have played publicly announced club gigs.

"They were making a definite attempt to hide themselves in the scene," Dyogenic says. "They were setting up shows all over southern Ontario, distributing their tape all over the place."

According to an ARA organizer, an attempt to block the band from playing Toronto's Marquee club last year failed after band members convinced CJC's Farber that they were not racists.

"They were really trying to water down and publicize their racism," says Steve Perry.

Although the band has not made any public appearances in the last six months, Negative Response's efforts to assimilate into Toronto's punk scene mirror the attempts by groups like the Heritage Front to present themselves as legitimate lobbyists in the mainstream media.

The "Freak Show" of White Supremacism

"The whole fascist thing is very sexy to the media," says Kim Clarke Champness, a host/producer at Muchmusic.

"If there's one guy at a concert, in a crowd of a thousand people, with a swastika on and with his arm out, the camera'll be on him."

Toronto radio station, CFRB, considered the Heritage Front "sexy" enough to invite them onto the John Oakley Show on Jan. 26. To discuss their opposition to Bill 56. The private member's bill, introduced in the Ontario Legislature, was aimed at curbing hate propaganda. The Front members — including media man Gary Schipper — were not, in the end, allowed on the air. There had been complaints that week about comments another host, Jane Hawtin, had made about Muslims — and in light of this, Richard Syrett, producer of the show says, "we Please see 'White,' p.20

White Noise

Varsity 94-02-08

Continued from p.19

didn't want to deal with it."

But Syrett does not see anything wrong with inviting the group on the air in the first place.

"We're not journalists," says Syrett. "Talk radio isn't journalism, it's show business. It's about ratings. Look at Oprah. Look at Geraldo. It's a freak show."

Syrett suggests the Heritage Front's comments on the bill contained some interesting observations.

"The Heritage Front said that according to their point of view, this would bring other groups some problems. For instance, if an orthodox Jewish or Muslim group were to condemn homosexuality, they could be prosecuted. It was a case, we thought, of this law making strange bedfellows out of these groups," says Richard Syrett, producer of the John Oakley Show.

"We may find the Heritage Front reprehensible," says Syrett, "but free speech is free speech."

"It was an absurd idea to do that [invite them on the show]," says Bernie Farber. "If they wanted an expert on civil rights or freedom of speech, they could have invited someone much more qualified, like Alan Borovoy, for instance." Farber adds that the Front's hypothetical references to 'orthodox Jewish groups' are unfounded.

Dub poet and broadcaster Clifton Joseph says that white supremacist groups like the Heritage Front or COTC, and the rock groups they promote, are a mere extension of the institutionalized racism of western society.

Joseph sees little distinction between overt racists and elements of the local media which he considers neo-conservative and anti-progressive.

"You can pick up the Toronto Sun every day and get a RaHoWa song," Joseph says. "Or you can listen to what these crypto-fascists on CFRB are saying and get a RaHoWa song."

"These bands, like RaHoWa, are not so much of an aberration," he adds.

And when Oprah, Geraldo, or local media do "exposes" on racist skinheads or neo-fascists, it often does more harm than good. A story ran by Eye magazine last summer, for ex-

ample, was composed entirely of quotes from Heritage Front head, Wolfgang Droege.

"The show where Geraldo had a big fight was a tremendous source of recruitment for white supremacists," says Lawrence Jeffries, director of public information for the Atlanta-based Centre for Democratic Renewal.

Jeffries says that in dealing with white supremacists, the media often forsake journalistic ethics for sensationalism.

"I think the people who put these racists on the air are acting out of tremendous irresponsibility; they're just concerned about ratings," he says.

Racists Think in Black and White

The same shock value that endears white supremacists to the media, is also what makes them attractive to young recruits, anti-racist activists say.

"Teenagers are looking for an identity," says Joe of ARA. "The phrase 'white power' has a kind of machismo; it's attractive to some kids."

"Part of the appeal of being a neo-Nazi is the fear that it engenders in 'normal' people," says Farber.

Not all skinheads are Nazis, and many belong to groups like ARA and SHARP (Skin Heads Against Racial Prejudice). The appeal of skinhead style — shaved or buzzed hair, combat boots, and military gear — is in its uniformity and implicit physical power, according to Kim Clarke Champriss.

"The idea of a uniform, of belonging to one common-thinking machine dressed in a similar way, is very powerful."

And a common-thinking machine, in turn, seems tailor-made to accept the facile and ignorant assertions that are at the basis of white-power ideology. White supremacists think of cultural identity in black and white terms; according to Bernie Farber, they cannot accept that different cultures can coexist.

"They're promoting the idea that multiculturalism and large immigration quotas are the death of the white race, and naive and ignorant people can buy into it — without malice, initially. The malice comes later."

Racist concert goes on

Toronto Sun 94-02-27
By BILL DUNPHY
Toronto Sun

Chased out of a church basement Friday, about 70 skinheads found a home for their racist rock concert in a nearby bar last night.

The scaled-down concert took place on the third floor banquet hall of a bar in the Greenwood and Danforth area.

Members of the Metro Police hate-crime unit monitored the event and checked the concert's licenses, but no arrests or trouble was reported.

Earlier racist rock concerts have degenerated into violence when skinheads clashed with anti-racist demonstrators.

But last night's cold weather and the elaborate security precautions taken by the Northern Hammerskin organizers seemed to forestall any protests.

A front man for the Hammerskins complained they had to cancel two American bands of the five planned out of fear immigration officials would detain band members at the border.

"We're not out for any trouble," George Harbottle said over the din of one of the band's warm-ups.

The Hammerskins had booked the basement of Holy Cross Church on Cosburn Ave. for their bash, telling the parish priest they were members of a baseball league. But on Friday, police alerted Rev. John Coppinger to the true nature of the event and he gave the bands the hook.